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OF THE

IN A

LATELY SECRETARY TO THE ENGLISH
CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

BY

BARRISTER AT LAW,

AGENT TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, FROM NOVEMBER, 1824, TILL THE PASSING OF THE

"ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S ROMAN CATHOLIC SUBJECTS," IN APRIL, 1829.

L O N D O N :

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1835.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,
Stamford Street.

TO
EDWARD BLOUNT, Esq.
&c.

8, *Manor Terrace, King's Road, Chelsea,*
May 18th, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR—I have read in the “Morning Chronicle” of this day, your letter upon the Roman Catholic Oath, and, although it gives me some pain to find, contrary to what I had considered well-grounded expectations, that your views are not in accordance with my own, I am, nevertheless, much cheered by the reflection, that you do not question a single statement, controvert a single conclusion, or answer a single query in my pamphlet upon the same important question, which had been in your hands for three weeks previous to the publication of your letter.

You appear to have preferred, and perhaps not unwisely, the course pursued by another distinguished Roman Catholic gentleman, Mr. Sheil, who has also published a letter on the same subject, in the same paper, without deeming it advisable to come into collision with my positions or arguments. But, at the same time that you decline bestowing the favour of your notice upon my publication, you do not hesitate to make a confident profession of sentiments directly opposed to those which it conveys. I apprehend that you will, upon more mature consideration, be inclined

to think, that it was not wise, on your part, to incur the risk of being exposed to the suspicion, that you abstained from noticing it, because you entertained something more than doubt of your ability to answer it. If such difficulties did not restrain your course, it would have been only kind and charitable towards me and others, if any, whom you may consider me to have misled, to have exposed my errors and corrected the evil tendency of my doctrines.

I pray you to feel assured that, so far from my entertaining any jealousy for your adoption of such a course, there is not a single individual in the country more anxious than myself for an unrestricted discussion, with a view to a correct settlement of this most important question; and, therefore, I should not only admit but approve the most unlimited latitude of commentary upon my late and present publication. I have read your letter in that spirit of attention and sincere respect which is due from me to every opinion sanctioned by your choice. I dwelt upon it the more anxiously because I knew that, if right were on the side of the cause which you now advocate, no person could be found more competent to sustain it, or so well qualified by peculiarity of circumstances, to bring to its aid the advantages of comprehensive information, and of long personal experience in all the details of Roman Catholic affairs. Assuredly, thought I, if *he* should fail in the endeavour, no other man will succeed.

And yet, my dear Sir, you must pardon the avowal of my conscientious, unqualified impression, that you have, indeed, failed, yes, entirely failed to justify your views.

You are too liberal a disputant to require that I should overlook the extraordinary fact,—that *you*, the secretary of the British Roman Catholics, during the whole period of my agency for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in this city, have not only abstained from intimating a denial or a doubt

of any one of my numerous statements or constructions ; but, now, after avowedly devoting much care and consideration to the subject, whose importance you recognise, and whose urgency you proclaim, you find yourself unable to draw from those stores of knowledge which you so eminently possess, one single fact, argument, or suggestion in maintenance of your own views, or in disproof of mine ; and you are compelled to rest your case, entirely and exclusively, upon two short, isolated extracts from the speeches of Sir Robert Peel and Sir Charles Wetherell, after they had already gone the rounds of the periodicals of the day ; at the same time that you admit, with your accustomed candour, that the interpretation to which I adhere, for I do adhere to it, is in accordance with the “intentions” which you declare you entertained in common, with other Roman Catholics !

This declaration, on your own behalf, appears marvellously strange, if not comically inconsistent, when we bear in mind the occasion upon which it is announced. You state the fact thus :—“That when Mr. Wilmot Horton made a proposal, that they (the Catholics) should be so restricted, Mr. Secretary Peel met it with a direct negative, though the proposal was sanctioned, to a certain extent, by some Catholics, *of whom I was one, who wished to give every possible proof of their INTENTIONS.*”

What *intentions*, my good friend ? Obviously, intentions to be “so restricted !” Now, although I do not feel that you prove Mr. Secretary Peel to have been such a cruel man as to have desired to mar your benevolent “intentions” of virtuous self-denial ; yet, I cannot withhold my acknowledgments for the admissions which your statement implies, —1st, that such restrictions might, in your opinion, have been proposed by him, and accepted by Roman Catholic members of Parliament, without prejudice to the honour,

efficiency, or just interests of either ;—2ndly, That my construction of the Oath may be approved and acted upon without incurring the charge of imposing any unreasonable restraint upon Roman Catholics ;—and 3rdly, That your avowed intentions are in perfect concordance with my construction of the Oath, and my estimate of the concurrence of Roman Catholics. The most suitable return that I can make for such admissions is the comfort which I feel myself enabled to impart, by declaring that, according to my views of Mr. Secretary Peel's speeches, there will not be found much difficulty in obtaining his assent to the exercise of such abstinence by Catholic members.

It appears to me that you form an erroneous opinion of the passages in Mr. Secretary Peel's speech, to which you referred ; although I am aware that the same sentiments, respecting it, had been previously expressed upon the very same extract, by the Honourable Charles Langdale, in his letter published in the "Catholic Magazine" of last February. There is one, simple, unquestionable answer to all you say about the intention of Mr. Secretary Peel to assimilate the position of the Catholic member to that of the Dissenter ; namely, that the Catholic member is required to take the Oath, and that the Oath is by the statute required especially from him, and from him alone, as a member of Parliament ; whereas no such oath, nor any oath whatever, is required from the Dissenter, as such, and he takes precisely the same parliamentary oath as the most zealous professor of the creed of the established church. Surely, if it had been intended to place the Catholic and the Dissenter in the same position, the same oath, or some such oath, would have been provided for Dissenters. Mr. Secretary Peel, obviously, and in my mind successfully, desired to inform Parliament and the public that, *with the exception of the Oath*, Catholics and Dissenters would be on the same foot-

ing; that is to say, that the Catholic should not be subjected to the direction of any other person or persons, as to the occasions when he should be excluded from voting or speaking in either House, but should be constrained by the oath; and Mr. Horton's proposition, to which you refer, was rejected by Mr. Secretary Peel, expressly because it could not be practically enforced, without subjecting the Catholic member to the control of some other authority, whose powers and duties it would be very difficult so to fix or limit as to guard against the constant recurrence of controversies, painful, if not offensive to Catholic members. It was so understood, and stated at the time, and the obligation of the Oath upon the conscience of the Catholic was considered equally valid security, and was substituted as such, in the place of all offensive or obnoxious *external* control or coercion. To suppose that the Dissenters and Catholics were intended to be placed in the same position, otherwise than as here stated, would be to suppose the minister and the Parliament to be deliberately and intentionally guilty of the gross deceit and absurdity of professing to make no difference between Dissenters and Catholics, and, at the very same moment, making a most serious difference between them, by requiring an Oath from one which was not required from the other; a supposition which I am confident you would be the last person to sanction. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the Act for the repeal of the Test Acts, (passed in 1828,) has no reference whatsoever to members of Parliament.

It is intituled "An Act for repealing so much of several Acts as imposes the necessity of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a *Qualification for certain Offices and Employments.*" The offices particularly specified are those of "mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, or common councilman, or any office of magistracy, or place,

trust, or employment relating to the government of any city, corporation, borough, or cinque port, within England and Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed."

The following is the form of Declaration required to be taken from Dissenters filling such offices:—

"I, *A. B.*, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, upon the true faith of a Christian, that I will never exercise any power, authority, or influence which I may possess, *by virtue of the office of* _____, to injure or weaken the Protestant Church as it is by law established in England, or to disturb the said Church, or the bishops and clergy of the said Church, in the possession of any rights or privileges to which such Church, or the said bishops and clergy, are or may be by law entitled."

Here are provisions made, by the security of oaths, to guard the Establishment; and surely, when such are raised against the adverse exercise of powers or privileges attached to such comparatively uninfluential offices, it is not contrary to reason or consistency, that similar terms of security should be introduced into the oaths of persons exercising the dominant privileges of legislators. I do not feel called upon to reconcile the apparent inconsistency of requiring such securities from Dissenters in inferior offices, and not requiring them from Dissenters on entering Parliament. I have nothing to do with this point; the question now before us refers solely to Catholics, and we find the same spirit of caution pervade our Relief Bill, whether affecting members of the Legislature, or other persons holding high offices of trust and honour, or offices of inferior rank.

But as you, and Mr. Langdale, before you, estimate so highly the value of Sir Robert Peel's declarations, as to require for your construction of his reported language a governing influence over our judgment, it is reasonable to suppose that you would receive with gratitude any reference to other passages in his speeches upon the Bill, or on any other

occasion when his mind was specially directed to the point, in order that you may be enabled to deduce from them such an illustration of his sentiments as may remove your doubts, if any, as to his intention. Allow me to assist your desires by one or two such references: I consider them conclusive upon you, after your admission, nay, proclamation of his authority. In the first place, I shall advert to some extracts from his speeches on the 5th and 23rd March, 1829, published in my former pamphlet. These are his words:—

“ We have to reconcile two great objects—the restoration of civil and political *privileges* to the Roman Catholics, with the full and perfect security of the rights of the Established Church.”

“ So far as Oaths can give *security*, this Oath gives us all the security which we can expect.”

“ If the Honourable Member deems the ecclesiastical, as well as the lay property of the Church not sufficiently *secured by the declaration*, let him go a little further, and he will find the words ‘and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, as settled by law within this realm.’”

“ As far as words go, *these afford ample security.*”

“ According to the form as it stands, the Roman Catholic declares that he will defend, to the utmost of his power, the settlement of property as established by law; so that *the words include ecclesiastical and other property.* In the next clause he is called upon solemnly to swear that he never will exercise any privilege to which he may be entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or government of this kingdom. It seems to me that, coupling the declaration he first makes, with the Oath he afterwards takes, it is sufficient.”

“ I beg to ask whether *the Oath*, as it now stands, is not sufficient, *recollecting that it is to be taken by Members of Parliament, for we are now only speaking of it in that view?*”

“ To call on the Roman Catholics to swear, as I propose, is going to the extreme point to which I think that we can

go with a person who is not of our religion. . . . *we are now speaking of the Oath to be tendered to Roman Catholics claiming seats in Parliament.*'

This language does not appear to me to admit of any doubt. It meets all your difficulties as to the intent of the speaker, on whose authority you rest your case. But if any doubt should still exist, the Honourable Charles Langdale is precisely the gentleman to whom, above all other men, I should refer you to remove it, if I could feel assured that his memory kept pace, in strength and vigour, with his undoubted honour and integrity. He could have told you, as a matter of historical record, that upon the 11th day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, a motion was brought forward, after due notice, in the House of Commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by Mr. O'Connell, touching this very subject: whereupon, one Honourable Charles Langdale delivered his sentiments. And he could have informed you further, that the said Honourable Charles Langdale was *immediately* followed, in debate, by one Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, who also made a statement well calculated to settle all your doubts.

Now, inasmuch as he does not appear to have given you this information, I beg leave to supply the deficiency, by an extract from the Report given by your friendly publisher, the "Morning Chronicle" of the 12th of March, 1834. You will perceive that Mr. O'Connell concurs with you and Mr. Langdale that, in cases of doubt as to the obligation of an oath, it should be construed in the sense of the party imposing it. I cannot permit myself to hesitate in anticipating that the extract which I am now about to lay before you, coupled with that which I have copied, above, from my former pamphlet, will relieve you from any further doubt

as to the views and intentions of Sir Robert Peel, when framing and proposing the Oath. I implore your most serious attention to this point:—

“ MR. O’CONNELL rose to bring forward his motion for a Committee to consider of the oaths now by law imposed upon Members of that House, and to report their observations thereupon, with a view either of altering the present oaths, or of abolishing them altogether. . . . He would appeal to the House whether there ought to be any doubt or difference of construction of so solemn an obligation as that of a man’s calling the living God to witness the sincerity of his statement and intentions. *It was, certainly, a rule of morals that whenever there was any doubt as to the obligation of an oath, it should be construed in the sense of the party imposing it.* . . . There was a Catholic publication, not much known in this country, in which a controversy had been for some time carried on as to whether Roman Catholics ought to sit there or not. In so solemn an engagement, every thing ought to be stated with perfect clearness and distinctness. He should conclude by assuring the House that he had been induced to bring the subject before the House from a strong and conscientious conviction of the *necessity of a final construction being put upon that oath*—a construction of so marked and emphatic a character, that no man could hereafter have any doubt respecting it.”

“ LORD ALTHORP.—Seeing that the question had been dealt with so late as five years ago, and that the Oath more particularly alluded to *had been enacted in the light of a safeguard*—wrongly so in his opinion—a *safeguard which by many was still considered as essential*, he did not see there would be any wisdom in interfering with it.”

“ MR. LANGDALE fully agreed with the Honourable and Learned Member for Dublin, that a clear and distinct interpretation should be put upon every Act of Parliament in which there was an oath.”

“ SIR ROBERT PEEL felt bound also to express his great regret that this question had been agitated at all. He did think, not having forgotten what took place in a former year, that if the House of Commons had anticipated that in the short space of five years after the passing of the

Catholic Relief Bill, by which every disability was removed, the Roman Catholics would have agitated the question of *the oath which was specifically framed and agreed to as a SECURITY*, many influential Members would have taken a very different course to what they did. He thought nothing could be so unwise, after the people had consented to the wishes of the Catholic body, and a majority of the Lords had decided on concession—when both Lords and people gave in full what had been anxiously sought after, and *taken these oaths, as it was understood they should be taken, as VALID SECURITIES* against any danger, real or supposed. He did think that a more unwise motion than the present one could not have been made, or one more calculated to stop the course of liberal concession hereafter (Hear, hear). *A compact had been entered into*, which, though not upheld by legal technicalities, was, to all intents and purposes, morally binding upon all parties. He (Sir R. Peel) put it to the House whether it would not have been more just and proper, as the Bill was for such a length of time before both Houses of Parliament, to have started those objections before it had passed, and not five years after the compact had been made? (Hear, hear). Was it not said that they were ready to give this oath, or any other that could satisfy the scruples of those who were fearful of the consequences of the Relief Bill? He (Sir R. Peel) considered if there had been any objection to the present Oath, it ought to have been stated on that occasion, and for these reasons he could not consent, five years after *a solemn compact had been entered into*, to any motion which could by any possibility result in *infringing it* (hear, hear.)”

“ Dr. Lushington, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Stanley, Mr. H. L. Bulwer, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Methuen, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. C. Ferguson, Mr. O’Dwyer, Mr. Lambert, Mr. A. Johnstone, Mr. O’Reilly, Mr. P. H. Howard, and Mr. Leech having spoken,—

“ Mr. O’CONNELL rose to reply. A controversy had arisen as to the construction to be put upon that Oath, which had given him much uneasiness; and *he now pledged himself not to let the matter rest till he had it definitively settled, one way or other. He pledged himself that the question being now fairly raised, he should not abandon it till it was fairly set at rest.*”

“ After a few words from Mr. Brotherton, the motion was withdrawn.”

I do here seriously declare that I should consider myself wanting in that deference which I most cordially entertain towards your good sense, impartiality, and uprightness, were I to add one word more in support of this illustration—nay, this positive proof of the intent of Sir Robert Peel in proposing the Oath, and of his present interpretation of that solemn obligation. Mark, my friend, it is the intent of “ the party imposing it,” in whose sense of its obligation Mr. O’Connell has stated “ it should be construed,” the intent of him to whom the Honourable Charles Langdale referred, expressly and by name, in his letter, with his signature affixed thereto, published in the “ Catholic Magazine” for February, 1835, (page 73), in which he writes thus :—

“ I suppose it will be *conceded by all parties*, that the Legislature that passed the Relief Bill containing the Oath in question would be a fair umpire to decide between my assertion and your correspondent’s denial. *It will also, I suppose, be conceded, that as the Legislature adopted the Bill proposed to the House of Commons by Mr. Peel, it did adopt it in the sense in which that Bill was explained by its original proposer.*”

Need I say more in reference to this point? As you have so particularly invited public attention to the language and conduct of Mr. Wilmot Horton in 1829, I feel that I keep within the bounds of honourable controversy when I advert to some matters, not so specifically noticed by you, connected with that gentleman. Well do I remember the extreme jealousy and dissatisfaction excited by his published letter to the Duke of Norfolk, in which he called upon us to make proffer of the securities to which you refer. He did more; he delivered a speech at Newcastle, which was so highly approved by yourself and your British

Catholic friends, that you thought it right to print and circulate not less than 10,000 copies of that document, containing the following passages:—

“ Do not suppose, however, for one moment, that I am prepared to support any general system of emancipation, which does not call upon every individual partaking of its benefits to give the most unequivocal assurance that he is prepared to exercise every duty of loyalty and fidelity to his country that can or ought to be imposed upon a subject. I would permit no man to escape from the impediments which the existing tests offer to his *admission into Parliament*, or into exercise of civil office. . . . Who would not swear that he disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjured any attempt to subvert the Protestant Church Establishment; who would not equally swear never to exercise any privilege to which he might become entitled, for the disturbance of the Protestant religion or Protestant Government in this kingdom; or who would hesitate to swear that he made all these declarations in the plain and ordinary sense of the words which conveyed them, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever. . . . Above all, understand me when I repeat, that *if any Catholic be not prepared to go this length, I am not prepared to extend any emancipation to that Catholic, be he who he may.*”

Mr. Horton did not stop here; but, on the contrary, he actually referred to you, by name, in his place in Parliament as a Catholic holding sentiments in accordance with the obligations of the Oath as now construed by me. I derive my information, again, from the “Morning Chronicle,” in which I find (March 19th, 1829) the report of his Speech delivered on the preceding day. He stated his having received a letter from an Irish Roman Catholic Peer, to the following effect, and at the same time announced your concurrence with the sentiments contained in that letter, thus:—That Noble Lord, he said, observed to him in that letter—

“ That in prohibiting the Catholics from legislating upon the affairs of the Established Church, he (Mr. Horton) would exact no sacrifice, but, on the contrary, afford them

a relief from a most disagreeable and irksome duty; were it *possible*, indeed (continued the writer) to suppose that the Catholics should be admitted to Parliament unfettered by any restrictions or disqualifications, I should feel it my duty to act under the influence of such an opinion, and *abstain from taking any part in the discussion, when the subject of the privileges of the Established Church came under consideration.*" (Hear, hear.) THIS TOO WAS THE OPINION OF A VERY DISTINGUISHED ROMAN CATHOLIC, MR. BLOUNT, THE SECRETARY TO THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION. This was the language and feeling of men of *high honour and principle, &c.*"

This circumstance becomes most seriously and gravely important when we refer to dates. The speech of Mr. Wilmot Horton, which I extract from the "Morning Chronicle" report, was delivered on the 18th of March, 1829, being four or five days before the House of Commons went into committee on that clause of the Bill which provided that Catholic members should take the Oath embodied in that clause, and now under our consideration. Mr. Horton had proposed certain restrictions, which he abandoned upon the declared ground of his placing perfect reliance on the Oath, as a valid and sufficient security. He quoted you, and he pledged you to Parliament, not only by name, as Mr. Blount, but also by office, as Secretary to the English Catholics; and the pledge by which he thus solemnly bound you, was to this plain and full extent, that you concurred with the sentiments expressed in the letter of the Irish Roman Catholic Peer, which he then read; that is to say, that Catholics would not consider that any *sacrifice* would be exacted from them by their being "prohibited from legislating upon the affairs of the Established Church," and that "*were it possible* to suppose that the Catholics should be admitted to Parliament unfettered by any restrictions or disqualifications, you and they should feel it a *duty* to act under the influence of such an opinion, and *abstain from taking any*

part in the discussion, when the subject of the privileges of the Established Church came under consideration." To this declaration you stand pledged at this moment, so far as any man can be pledged by the language of another, stated with the knowledge of the person whom he pledges, and acquiesced in by him. It cannot be questioned, but that legislating upon the *property* of the Established Church is "legislating upon the *affairs* of the Established Church;" and it is equally clear that the right to the possession of that property forms one of the most important "*privileges* of the Established Church." Here, indeed, is proof incontrovertible of your concurrence with those very sentiments of mine to which you are now, by some strange fatality, placed in opposition; and you will not fail to bear in mind, that this declaration, on your behalf, was made under the most peculiar circumstances, and at a most peculiar moment and crisis, when it was desirable that it should obtain the confidence of Parliament and the public, and was, obviously, and, no doubt, successfully, put forth for that purpose. You are the more involved, personally, in this obligation, because, according to my recollection, you were the only individual, then quoted in Parliament, by name, as an assurance for the reality and sincerity of that pledge. I, for one, did entirely agree with you then, and the only difference between us now, arises from my continued adherence to the same sentiment, to which you were so pledged at that time.

The English Catholic Association were fully informed of your pledges; yet, they did not state, or suggest, or hint, or whisper any dissent from the feelings to which you had so publicly pledged them, as well as yourself, before Parliament. The Irish Catholic leaders, who were equally informed on the subject, did not, either in London or in Dublin, intimate any wish to be disconnected from your sentiments on *that* occasion; although you and I well know how desperately

anxious they were, only two or three months previously, *so far at least as the public were informed*, to disconnect themselves from you, in reference to a matter growing out of this very same subject of securities.

All this took place on the 18th of March, and the discussion in the Committee on the Oath followed on the 23rd of that month, upon which occasion Mr. Secretary Peel "fought the good fight," the practical battle of Catholic sincerity, and Catholic fidelity to oaths, with so much liberality, confidence, energy, perseverance, and success, in opposition to our enemies, who called aloud to him to place no faith or trust in such a security. I pray you, my dear Sir, as a sincere friend, I urge you, to consider well the position in which you now stand, as contrasted with the position in which you stood on the 18th of March, 1829, and remember that neither of us can tell how soon history may have to deal with our conduct in reference to those public interests, when we may not be here to vindicate or explain,—aye, if necessary to retract; if reflection should suggest and honour command it, and moral courage sustain the virtuous desire. Well may I exclaim, who, in our times, has been more honoured and approved than the truly illustrious Charles Brownlow! No man need blush to follow his example. Let us not forget how much we ourselves have suffered and complained on account of the unexplained conduct, real in some cases, and only alleged in others, of Catholics less prominent and less recognized by the Catholic body of their days, than we have been in our own time. Let us beware, lest we transmit such an inheritance to those who may come after us.

Can you doubt but that Mr. Horton's public pledge of the sentiments of the Secretary of the British Catholics, and of yourself, by name, must have affected the judgment of honest opponents, and, on the other hand, powerfully

aided the supporters of the Bill? It would be manifestly disrespectful to yourself and to your station, as such Secretary, to entertain such a doubt. It evidently affected the judgment and conduct of Mr. Horton himself, and was, substantially, one ground for the justification of his abandonment of the coercive securities which he had propounded; otherwise, it will be impossible to answer these plain questions: *Why* did he refer to you, at all? *Why* did you authorize him to do so? For what purpose, with what intention did both or either of you put your names and sentiments forth so prominently at such a critical moment? I well know how much it would afflict you to believe that you had, even unintentionally, misled Sir Robert Peel or the Parliament; but still, my friend, facts are facts; and I should contemplate with much pain the whole circumstance, if I did not know, as I do know, that your representation of the feelings of the Roman Catholic body on that occasion, was perfectly just and correct, and in accordance with every public act or profession of theirs to which you could refer for your guidance, when forming an estimate of their views.

I have never seen nor heard of any contradiction, on your part, of this public statement of your principles. May not I then be permitted to feel some surprise when I find you coming forward to place your respected name in opposition to my views, which are so entirely in accordance with those thus publicly promulgated in Parliament, on your behalf? It really would almost appear to be now considered right and necessary, for some reason or other, to set off the Secretary of the British Catholics against the Agent to the Catholics of Ireland. Most sincerely do I regret that such a course should have been adopted as to drive me to the alternative of either sinking under the weight of your authority, or referring to such matters even of public notoriety for the protection of my own position, upon an occasion

already known to be sufficiently difficult and embarrassing. I must here, in candour and truth, declare, that I considered you, more than any other Roman Catholic in the United Kingdom, pledged to the maintenance of the doctrines of my pamphlet; and for this plain reason, that no person had laboured more sedulously or more successfully in the distribution of those tracts and other publications from which I extracted those professions of our principles and views which I inserted in that publication. Those who have done it the honor, even of a hasty perusal, will find the truth of this statement established by the following extract from a Table entitled, "Names and Numbers of Tracts distributed," annexed to the "Address of the General Committee of the British Catholic Association to the British Catholics." Signed "NORFOLK, E. M. *Chairman*, EDWARD BLOUNT, *Secretary*," and dated "1, *Thorney-street, Bloomsbury, March 6, 1828.*"

"Appeal from the Catholics of Ireland to the people of England	20,000
"Mr. Howard's Remarks on the erroneous notions entertained respecting the Catholic Religion	10,000
"Mr. Wilmot Horton's Speech at Newcastle	10,000
"Catholic Bishops' Declaration	100,000
"Address from lay Noblemen and Gentlemen to accompany same	100,000
"Ditto, as Placards	5,000
"Address from the Catholics of Ireland to the People of England (sent from Ireland)	50,000
"Irish Bishops' Declaration, received from Mr. Wheble	1,000
"Historical References, received from Mr. Howard	600
"Parnell's Penal Laws	450
"Lord Nugent's Pamphlet	100

The reader of my former Pamphlet will recognize in this list the titles of almost all the documents to which it referred. I could here dwell with much advantage in argument upon

several of them, but will confine myself to one document named in the list, the "Address from lay Noblemen and Gentlemen, &c.," but entitled in the original, "An Address from the British Roman Catholics to their Protestant Fellow Countrymen." This much valued document commences thus :—

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—We present to you a declaration, drawn up and signed by those ecclesiastics who, in this country, are the expounders of our faith. *We beg earnestly to call your attention to this document, which distinctly repudiates the obnoxious tenets imputed to us. The Irish Bishops have given a Declaration of Catholic Principles, similar in effect to this.*"

The Address contains also the following dignified protestation :—

"Bearing equally with you, our fellow-subjects, the burdens of the country, *and upholding equally its institutions, and its glory, we claim to be admitted to a full participation in all the rights of British subjects.—Every principle or practice hostile, in the remotest degree, to those institutions, we most explicitly disclaim. Year after year we repeat the humiliating task of disavowal ; still we suffer the penalties of guilt.*"

The Declaration of the *British Roman Catholic Prelates* which it adopts contains the following passages :—

"SECTION IX.—*On the claim of British Catholics to the property of the Church Establishment in England.*

"British Catholics are charged with entertaining a *pretended right to the property of the Established Church in England.*

"We consider such a charge to be totally without foundation. We declare that we entertain no pretension to such a claim. *We regard all the revenues and temporalities of the Church Establishment, as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land. We disclaim any right, title, or pretension, with regard to the same.*"

Also (Section VII.) :—

"He who takes an Oath is bound to observe it in the

obvious meaning of the words, or *in the known meaning of the person to whom it is sworn.*"

The Declaration of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates, upon which this Address of the British Roman Catholics also rests, contains the following statement :—

"The Catholics of Ireland, far from claiming any right or title to forfeited lands, resulting from any right, title or interest, which their ancestors may have had therein, declare, upon oath, 'that they will defend to the utmost of their power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being.' They also 'disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead.' *And further, they swear that they will not exercise any privilege to which they are, or may be entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in Ireland.*"

The Irish Archbishops and Bishops add, emphatically, "This full and authentic declaration *we approve, subscribe, and publish,*" &c.

To this Address of British Catholics to their Protestant fellow-countrymen, thus declaring, by original and adopted statements, views in perfect concurrence with those which I profess, the following signatures are affixed :—

Norfolk, E. M.	Miles Stapleton
Surrey	Michael Jones
Shrewsbury	William Witham
Kinnaird	Justin Fitzgerald
Stourton	John Stanton
Petre	Joseph Ireland
Arundell	Charles Courtenay
Stafford	Robert Throckmorton
Clifford	John Gage
Charles Stourton	Joseph Francis Tempest
H. V. Jerningham	Thomas Stapleton, jun.

Hugh Charles Clifford	Charles Butler
E. M. Vavasour	Charles Eyston
Charles Langdale	Wm. Blount
Philip Stourton	Edward Doughty
Edward Petre	Ralph Riddell
Charles Clifford	Edw. Weddington Riddell
Wm. Gerard, Bart.	Thomas Riddell
Hy. Jos. Tichborne, Bart.	Charles Conolly
Geo. Throckmorton, Bart.	Henry Robinson, jun.
Edward Blount, Bart.	William Plowden
Henry Webb, Bart.	George Silvertop
Rich. Bedingfield, Bart.	Henry Englefield
Edward Smith, Bart.	Marlow Sidney
Clifford Constable, Bart.	Peregrine Edw. Towneley
Francis Cholmeley	John Jones
Henry Howard of Corby	William Jones
Philip Henry Howard	Richard Huddleston
Charles Tempest	Thomas Stapelton
John Rosson	Charles Gregory Fairfax
Michael Joseph Quin	R. Berkeley of Sketchley
George Meynell	Robert Berkeley, jun.
W. K. Amherst	John Caving of Callaly
Charles Türville	Thomas Mollyneux Seel
John Wright	Thomas Fitzherbert
Charles Stonor, Lieut.-Col.	Robert Selby
Wm. Constable Maxwell	Henry Arundell
Thomas Heneage	Edward Blount

So important was this Address considered, that you are represented to have noticed it in the following terms in your published speech at an open meeting of the Committee of the British Catholic Association, 26th July, 1826 :—

“ We will now proceed to what is more peculiarly the business of the present meeting. In obedience to the instruction of the Committee, I have forwarded copies of the

Declaration and Address to the Royal Family, to all the members of the Cabinet, to the bench of Bishops, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to the Heads of the Universities in England and Scotland. From most of these distinguished persons we have been honoured with polite replies. With the view also of extending the circulation of the above valuable document, in quarters where it would probably excite attention, we have procured its distribution, attached to the various periodical publications that issue regularly from the public press; and the whole number distributed amounts to more than 80,000 copies. As far as it has been in our power, we have endeavoured to place them in the hands of judicious distributors."

Nor was this notice of that document deemed sufficient; so important was it considered, that the following reference was made to it in the Petition of the British Catholics to Parliament, presented March 2nd, 1827:—

The petitioners state—"That they have always been willing to lay before the public, in the fullest and most explicit manner, all their religious doctrines, and to disclaim every anti-civil or anti-social principle imputed to them; *for this purpose they have often referred to authentic documents*, in which their religious tenets are to be found, and have often printed, published, and circulated them; and that among these documents are the answers of the foreign Universities to the questions suggested by Mr. Pitt; that very recently (*the petitioners now mention a fact to which they most earnestly solicit the attention of the House*) an exposition of their religious principles, framed by the English and Scottish Catholic prelates, has been laid before the public: that they have presented copies of this declaration to his Most Excellent Majesty, to his illustrious brothers, to the cabinet-ministers, to the prelates of the Established Church, and to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and St. Andrew's: and that they have deposited the original in the British Museum. They respectfully take leave to annex a copy of it to the present petition, and to refer to it as a full and explicit exposition of the religious tenets of the Roman Catholics, on points therein mentioned. *Together with this declaration*, they have extensively circulated among their Protestant fellow-

countrymen, an address expressing their adherence to it, *calculated, to the best of their judgment, to remove any unfavourable impression* existing in their minds respecting their civil and social principles," &c.

You will not, I apprehend, be disposed to insist that the protestations contained in the lay address, and the two episcopal declarations on which it purports to be founded, are reconcileable with the existence of a desire on the part of the persons whose signatures are affixed thereto, to enforce a claim to be admitted to a participation in the severance of the church revenues, or of any portion thereof, from the Establishment. You need only turn back to the extracts which I have made from those documents, to be perfectly satisfied that no such intent was professed or contemplated at the time, but that, on the contrary, a primary object of those documents was to put forth and obtain credit for a disclaimer of such intentions. Yet this is the whole extent of the position which I sustain; and I think you will not now feel serious difficulty in admitting that there is much, very much to be forgotten by yourself and those British Catholics, with whom you acted, before you or they can finally adopt an opposite conclusion.

I come now to your reference to the extracts from Sir Charles Wetherell's speech, which was noticed in the same terms by two or three of the public journals, about three weeks ago. You will, upon consideration, perceive that it leads to results perfectly concurrent with my views, and different from yours.

His words are—"Now, Sir, I would wish that some senior optime from Oxford, or some senior wrangler from Cambridge, would explain *how* this bill is to bind a Roman Catholic in his legislative capacity, in the discharge of his parliamentary duties." Thus does he distinctly admit that the object and intent of the provision was to bind the Roman

Catholic, at the same time that he contends that this object is not effected. Again, he says,—“*Satisfy me that the Roman Catholic, when admitted by this bill into Parliament, will be restricted and shackled as to his power to injure the Church Establishment, and that the Protestant will still remain free to vote according to his conscience! Do that, and I will instantly consider that you will have taken the poison out of the measure under your consideration.*”

I could not have been favoured with a more powerful ally than you present to me in this extract. It proves, no doubt, that Sir Charles was not satisfied; and perhaps it would not have been an easy matter to have accomplished such an achievement, in reference to our question. But it proves also two things more, namely, that the *professed intent* of the framers of the bill was, to use his own words, to “*restrict and shackle Roman Catholics, when admitted into Parliament, as to their power to injure the Church Establishment,*” and this was so professed and intended to be effected by the Roman Catholic Oath, and by that Oath alone. And it further proves, that the majority in Parliament who prevailed over his objections were *satisfied* that such was the intent, and that this professed intent of the Bill was effected by the provision whose insufficiency was thus questioned by the honourable and learned member, whom you rank among the “*enemies*” of the measure. Alas, how lamentably powerful is this your illustration of the justice of the observation contained in my former pamphlet (p. 40), that the course against which I raised my warning voice, “*tends, directly and expressly, to justify, not the confidence and promises of friends, but the distrust and predictions of enemies!*”

Sir Robert Peel and the majority reposed confidence in our Oath; Sir Charles Wetherell differed from them. Is it now to be contended by Catholics that Sir Charles was

right, and Sir Robert Peel, and the majority, wrong? You would be the last person to do so: you must, therefore, abandon altogether, any reliance upon this extract from Sir Charles Wetherell's speech, as bringing support to your views; and when you shall have done so, what becomes of your case and your letter? Nothing remains but your own respected name, not only unsupported by any proof, but actually deprived, and justly deprived, of the only support upon which it professed to rest.

There are many reasons why I should not choose to dwell, unnecessarily, on this branch of the subject, and therefore, I part from it at once, and I trust, for ever; merely adding, that in order to secure to you perfect fair play, I place your letter "To the Morning Chronicle," at full length, first in the Appendix which I annex to this Letter. The only other point connected with your name to which I shall advert, is the circumstance of your having furnished practical proof of the value which we, ourselves, may, even individually, set upon our Oaths, as means for defence against unfounded imputations; establishing thereby, the fact that those Oaths have not been always considered as grievances to be deprecated. I do not now allude to the particular Oath under our consideration, but to the general Oath of Allegiance to which you resorted for your defence, when in 1824 (May 27) you petitioned Parliament in just and successful vindication of your feelings and station. I find your Petition in the Appendix to the Votes of the House of Commons for that year, No. 1144, p. 756. Your words are—

"That the Petitioner has taken, in his Majesty's court at Westminster, the Oath and Declaration prescribed by the British Parliament of the 31st of his late Majesty, and which Oath he begs to be permitted to recite. [The Oath is here inserted at full length.] That the obnoxious opinions imputed to him he has publicly disavowed, and that the disavowal has been ratified by the solemn sanction of an Oath, and *accepted* by the legislature of his country."

I insert also, in the Appendix, those parts of the speech of Mr. (Lord) Brougham, delivered on the 24th of April, 1812, to which I referred in my former publication, as "an unanswerable illustration of the correctness of my views." I recommend it to early and diligent perusal. It will be found to justify my statements of the construction put upon our obligations and intentions by our most zealous supporters.

In this Appendix will also be found, extracts from the Declarations published in some Dublin newspapers, in March, 1829, in reference to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and their Government, towards the Roman Catholics, and the return which was then considered due to those distinguished individuals for such conduct. It was my intention to have noticed, more particularly, the conduct of that press towards me upon the present occasion. Suffice it, however, for the present, to observe, that those who are most coarse in their animadversions have shrunk from giving insertion to my late publication, or to any part thereof, although, in one instance, I had offered to pay for its insertion even as an advertisement; at the same time that the same "Journal," while it cautiously excluded my own version of my views, considered it just and liberal to select and insert the hostile and unfounded attacks of others, without venturing to specify and controvert one single statement contained in my pamphlet. The only real difference between us is this, that we both professed the same sentiments in 1829, and that I still adhere to them, while they abandon them, without suggesting any cause for their change.

It has been made a subject of grave complaint that I should have interposed, at all, in this controversy. It is not unknown to you that this public interposition was not resorted to by me, until private suggestion and remonstrance had been tried and disregarded.

The question had been raised at various times in the House of Commons, including 16th April, 1832, 1st April, 1833, and 11th March, 1834. It was discussed for several months in that periodical (the Catholic Magazine) to which Mr. O'Connell referred in his speech of the 11th March, 1834, from which I have made an extract. I find the controversy in not less than twenty-one monthly numbers of that Magazine, commencing May, 1832, and ending in February of the present year. It was also discussed in all the public journals.

Unless, therefore, I am bound to admit that I, *alone*, should be excluded from the expression of an opinion on the subject, I cannot discover upon what grounds any just complaint can be raised against my interposition, and particularly when that interposition is delayed as long as possible, and not adopted until the very latest moment that it could be usefully exercised.

It has been stated in the Journal which you have selected for the publication of your sentiments, that I have again applied my "practised hand" in promoting disunion. You, my dear Sir, are more competent than any other person to bear testimony to the utter falsehood and injustice of the charge, as affecting my conduct in this country; or, should your memory fail to serve you, I possess the means of referring, with the utmost precision, to facts and dates to prove, as I am perfectly prepared to do, that no person did more or endured more than myself to preserve and promote union among British Catholics.

As to my own countrymen, I believe I may safely claim to be enrolled amongst the most prominent, if not myself the most prominent, of those who never deviated from the one straight course of conduct. My principles were not hastily adopted, and never were, in a single instance, abandoned or compromised. I insert in the Appendix a copy of the

ninety-eight signatures affixed to the first appeal that was made by the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, now thirty years ago. To that document my signature was affixed. I insert also the testimony of those most competent to estimate my conduct at the conclusion of the struggle, including twenty-four Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops. And when we refer to the names contained in those several documents, we find how transitory is our passage over the scene in which we move; for, of the ninety-seven with whom I was associated in 1805, I believe that no less than eighty are now dead, and of the twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops who, only six years ago, favoured me with those flattering assurances of their approval, ten have already departed from this life. I believe I may truly say, that no single individual has framed a greater number of the general petitions of the Roman Catholics of Ireland *for Emancipation* than I have done. I have the copies of three of them now before me; two of which, presented in 1811 and 1826, were framed, as well as the other, with a view to their effecting a basis of union in the body, which had been disturbed by circumstances to which I am not disposed to advert. But I may be permitted to extract from those two some proofs that the opinions which I profess upon the present occasion are not now taken up by me for the first time, to forward any temporary object, and were not disapproved by the Catholics of Ireland at the time in which they were framed. In the petition presented by the late Mr. Grattan in the year 1811, I find the following passage:—

“ They deem it unnecessary to enter into any refutation of the several calumnies and misrepresentations which have been circulated respecting the doctrine of their holy religion; *the solemn pledges they have given*, &c., supply abundant contradiction to the malignant assertions and insinuations of their enemies.”

Thus did we then, as at other times, rest upon the oaths we had taken, as the means of our own defence. The draft presented by Sir Francis Burdett, 25th of April, 1826, is still more precise and pertinent:—

“The Petitioners consider it due, not more to themselves than to their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, to declare their conscientious impression that many, if not all, of the prejudices still retained against their claims, result from an ignorance of their actual condition, *their principles and their objects*; the petitioners seek not the destruction, but the enjoyment of the Constitution, and in the pursuit of that desire, *they do not by any means solicit or expect or wish that a single individual of their Protestant fellow-subjects should be deprived of any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity of which he is at present possessed.* The petitioners, in praying for the restoration of their rights, seek not, nor do they wish to burden the state with any provision or pension for the ministers of their religion, *nor do they seek, nor have they sought, to deprive any class of his Majesty's subjects of any right, privilege, or franchise whatsoever.*”

Having, in my former publication, given extracts from petitions of the Roman Catholics of Ireland in other years, in proof of their concurrence with my present views, I may here add one eminently apposite, from that presented by the late Mr. Grattan, 23rd of May, 1808:—

“Your Petitioners *most solemnly declare* that they do not seek or wish in any way to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, *possessions, or revenues appertaining to the Bishops and clergy of the Protestant religion, as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or any of them*; the extent of their humble application being, that they be governed by the same laws, and rendered capable of the same civil and military offices, franchises, rewards, and honours as their fellow-subjects of every other religious denomination.”

Thus we find, from the commencement of our proceedings to their successful conclusion, including a period of about a quarter of a century, one uniform practice of solemn protestation perfectly according with my present opinions.

I shall add but one extract more from the numerous documents now before me. I use it for the purpose of placing beyond all doubt the important fact upon which I dwelt so strongly in my other pamphlet, that the Oaths taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, pursuant to the Irish act of 1793, were, strictly and emphatically, *Catholic Oaths*. With this view, I present to your notice the two following extracts from Resolutions adopted and promulgated by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, in February, 1810:—

“ 3. Resolved, That the Oath of Allegiance, which, under the provisions of an Irish Act of Parliament, enacted in that behalf, is tendered to, and is taken by his Majesty’s Irish Roman Catholic subjects, *was agreed to and approved by all the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, after long and conscientious discussion and consultation had with the several Catholic Universities and individual authorities throughout Europe,*” &c.

“ 4. Resolved, That *said Oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations therein contained, are notoriously, to the Roman Catholic Church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic religion, as taught by us, the Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland ; and, as such, are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches,*” &c.

You will perceive, in reference to the letters by the Irish Bishops, inserted in the Appendix, that they all acknowledge, as I had stated, the receipt of the draft of the bill, and of the reports of the discussions in Parliament upon it in March, 1829 ; so that I am completely borne out by them in my assertion, that ample opportunity was afforded in every quarter of Ireland to seek an alteration in the form of that Oath, if it had been considered objectionable.

Why then do I now, after many years of silence, advert to such topics and documents ? Simply, because I think they interest the fame of that Body with which I have been so long, personally and officially associated ; and I verily

believe that never, in the whole course of those proceedings, did I interpose more necessarily or more fitly than I do, thus voluntarily, upon the present occasion. I own that I do not feel to incur the guilt of arrogance when I add that I should not deem it wholly unreasonable to expect that I should be permitted to defend my own character, in reference to this subject, and even to hope that my views, under such circumstances, should not be wholly disregarded by others.

It would be uncandid not to admit, that I gladly avail myself, at the same time, of such proofs of the injustice of the rule which would seek to exclude me alone from interference in this controversy ; and when you, above all men, bear in mind that, in addition to the other peculiar circumstances of my connexion with the Roman Catholic affairs of the United Kingdom, to which I have referred, I was also an acting member of the General Committee, and of the Defence Committee of your British Catholic Association, and, thereby, intimately connected with the publication and circulation of your tracts, you at least will feel my responsibility, and acquit me of any uncalled for or unbecoming intrusion.

Deeply impressed with all these considerations; after having read over every official letter which I ever received from the Roman Catholics of Ireland ;—having also examined about twenty volumes of Catholic tracts, and several of my own private memorandum-books, and calmly deliberated upon your letter, and every other objection that has been raised, according to my knowledge, to the opinions which I have expressed, I feel not only unshaken, but, on the contrary, more than ever confirmed in the justice of those opinions ; and therefore, I conclude in the language which I used in my former publication, that—“ If I were a Member of either House of Parliament, I should not feel

myself at liberty to vote or speak in support of any measure, having for its object the severance of any portion of the Church Property from the Establishment, for any purposes whatever; and I should, of course, feel equally bound to decline being, directly or indirectly, connected with any resolution or other proposition involving, expressly or by implication, a recognition of the principle of such severance."

I remain, my dear Sir,

With unaltered sentiments of personal esteem and regard,

Your faithful friend and servant,

ENEAS MAC DONNELL.

TO EDWARD BLOUNT, Esq.

Having hitherto endeavoured to avoid mixing up the great question of the actual *obligations* of the Roman Catholic Oath with any other topics, such as the consequences, good or evil, that may be supposed, by opposite parties, to result from any particular interpretation of its terms, I have determined to adhere, at least in the present publication, to the same course, although much tempted, if not provoked, to sweep away some of the many delusions practised upon the present occasion. Suffice it to say, that if you should consider my views, as expressed in this pamphlet, tolerably well sustained, I am fully as well prepared to maintain, *and to prove*, that the Resolution adopted on the motion of Lord John Russell, as explained by that noble lord and his friends, neither tends, nor appears to be intended, to secure peace or prosperity to my country; nor, in the slightest degree, to benefit the peasantry of Ireland. I feel no desire to intrude my reasons for these opinions, but if he should require them, he shall have them; and whatever other claims they may

possess to his attention, he will have the satisfaction of knowing, that they are the opinions and reasons of one, who, in the time of need, has practically laboured more, suffered more, and done more on behalf of that peasantry, than any one of his lordship's Irish Catholic Parliamentary supporters or, peradventure, all of them put together.

E. M.D.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Letter of Edward Blount, Esq.

No. 2.

Extract from Mr. (Lord) Brougham's Speech, on Mr. Grattan's Motion for a Committee on the Roman Catholic Claims, April 24, 1812.

No. 3.

Extracts from Declarations of Irish Press, as also of Eminent Individuals, &c. in Ireland, in 1829, expressive of Gratitude to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for the measure of Catholic Relief, without any objection being raised to the Oath.

No. 4.

Copy of Signatures affixed to the Irish Catholic Petition of 1805. Extracted from Plowden's History of Ireland.

No. 5.

Official Instructions to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq., Agent to the ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND ; and assurances of approval and gratitude addressed to him.

APPENDIX.—No. 1.

Letter of Edward Blount, Esq.

CATHOLIC OATH.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR—I send you a copy of a letter which I have this day transmitted to the editor of *The Worcester Herald*. It relates to a matter of some importance, and which has recently attracted a considerable portion of public attention.

If you will allow it to find a place in your paper, I shall be indebted to you.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
EDWARD BLOUNT.

Bryanston-square, May 14.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORCESTER HERALD.

“ Sir—Some kind friend has sent me your paper of the 2nd instant, which I observe contains the proceedings of a Conservative Association which met at Droitwich a few days previous to its publication.

“ At this meeting T. S. Packington, Esq., is stated to have passed a very severe, and as I will shortly prove, a most unwarranted censure on the conduct of certain Catholic Members of Parliament, on the occasion of their having voted in favour of the appropriation of any surplus revenue of the Irish Church to the purposes of general education. They are accused of having voted ‘*regardless of the oath they had taken at the table of the House of Commons.*’

“ If their accuser has made this most serious charge after a full examination of the oath which they are accused of violating, and of the recorded intentions of those who imposed it, I can only express my surprise at the result to which he has come, for I will undertake to show, in a few words, and by the evidence of parties to whom he cannot take exception, that the Catholic Members whom he accuses of perjury were perfectly warranted in exercising their discretion on that as on every other occasion. Are Mr. Packington and the Conservatives of East Worcestershire prepared to assert that *no* discretion whatever was intended to be allowed to Catholic Members in any matter connected with the Church or its affairs? If so, they cannot be aware that when Mr. Wilmot Horton made a proposal that they should be so restricted, Mr. Secretary Peel met it with a direct negative, though the proposal was sanctioned to a certain extent by some Catholics, of whom I was one, who wished to give every possible proof of their intentions. His

words are—‘ There appear to me numerous and cogent objections to this proposal.’ But this is not all; as if to place the matter beyond the possibility of cavil, he concluded by saying, ‘ *I am unwilling to deprive the Roman Catholic members of either House of Parliament of any privilege of free discussion and free exercise of judgment which belongs to other members of the Legislature.*’—See *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xx. p. 758. In another part of the same speech he says—‘ *I would admit them, therefore, on the same footing, on the same principle of equality, on which we now admit the Dissenter from the Church of England.*’ I would recommend an attentive perusal of this speech to such persons as really wish to arrive at the truth, and not to serve selfish or party purposes. It will be observed that Mr. Secretary Peel does not intimate the slightest wish or intention to control the Catholics in the exercise of their functions as Members of Parliament; on the contrary, he repudiates the idea. His arguments and statements would go to prove, not only that it was inexpedient to limit the power of voting, but he says that ‘ it is dangerous to establish the precedent of limiting by law the discretion by which the duties and functions of a Member of Parliament are to be exercised.’ See *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xx. page 758. This would seem to be enough; but if these Conservatives are not satisfied with proof drawn from the *friends* of the Bill; I will request your permission to show, in a very few words, from its enemies, that *they* did not consider the oath as limiting the discretion of Catholics. The gentleman to whose evidence I shall appeal is one to whom no well-constituted Conservative can object; and his assertions are so strong, and apply so directly to the point at issue, that I cannot consent to abridge them. Sir C. Wetherell, on the 30th of March, 1829, after a leisure of three weeks to ponder on the meaning of Mr. Secretary Peel’s remarks on the oath, in his opening speech makes use of the following strong terms—

“ ‘ Now, Sir, I would wish that some senior optime from Oxford, or some senior wrangler from Cambridge, would explain how this Bill is to bind a Roman Catholic in his legislative capacity in the discharge of his Parliamentary duties. Sir, there are Honourable Members in this House, and Protestants too, such as an Honourable Member who must be absent from his place on this night through indisposition alone—I mean the Honourable Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume)—who think that the revenue of the Church is national property; that it may be dealt with as a State fund, to be distributed by Parliament as Parliament shall think proper; in short, as a sort of strong box, or till, into which the minister may put his hand whenever the public necessities require it. There are other Honourable Members too, such as the Honourable Member for Colchester, who think—what that Honourable Member candidly acknowledged—that the property of the Church was an incumbrance to her, and that the sooner she was disburdened of it,

the purer she would become as a religion. Now, suppose the Honourable Member for Colchester to rise and move the appropriation of the Church property to other than its present objects, and the Honourable Member for Montrose to second that motion, do you mean to tell me the Catholic would be acting against his Parliamentary oath if he sanctioned such a measure, so moved and seconded by Protestants, and probably supported, too, by sixty or seventy other Protestants in this House? Would the Catholic be restricted from supporting that vote by the oath in the Bill? Answer that. Let the casuists from Oxford or Cambridge answer that if they can. I was asked a question; I answered it; and now, in my turn, I ask, I invite, I challenge any man in the House to stand up in his place and answer my question. I ask, do you or do you not, when you give the Roman Catholic legislative power, restrain and restrict him from acting in his legislative capacity as he pleases? Satisfy me that the Roman Catholic, when admitted by this Bill into Parliament, will be restricted and shackled as to his power 'to injure the Church Establishment, and that the Protestant will still remain *free to vote according to his conscience; do that, and I will instantly consider that you will have taken the poison out of the measure under your consideration.* But if you will leave to the Roman Catholics this legislative power to injure the Protestant institutions of the State, then, I say, I can never believe any man who tells me that there is no danger to the Church in the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament.'—See *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xx. page 1513-4.

"Neither in that, nor in any future stage of the Bill, did Mr. Secretary Peel utter a word from which it could be implied that he had altered the opinion he had before expressed on *the danger of establishing the precedent of limiting by law the discretion by which the functions of Members of Parliament are to be exercised.* It may be said that the discretion of Catholics on this matter was injudiciously exercised: this is fair debatable ground, open to Catholic and Protestant; but it involves no question of the violation of an oath, and it is but fair to remark that great blame is not imputable to the Catholic who, on a measure regarding the interests of the Protestant Church, acts in accordance with a large body of most enlightened members of that religion, whose attachment to it cannot be doubted.

"In conclusion, I would wish to guard myself from the possible imputation of insinuating that the Catholics are not bound to support the institutions of their country; they are so bound by every tie of duty and of honour. What I contend for is, that the Catholic has violated no oath, and is in full possession of every legislative capacity possessed by others. It is not my business or intention to arraign Mr. Packington's motives in making these groundless charges; but I have no hesitation in saying that, whether intentional or not, their evident tendency is to

inflammé the public mind against the Catholics, as combining to undermine the Protestant Church, or, in one word, to raise a senseless cry of 'No Popery.'

"I am sure that your sense of justice will forbid you to close your columns against the admission of these remarks. It was in your paper that this attack on the Catholic Members of Parliament was made, and the same medium that conveyed the poison should administer the antidote.

"Besides, it is the peculiar province of a journal, such as yours, to render the public press a public blessing, by removing senseless prejudice, and exposing the artifices of those who affect to advocate the cause of the people, while they mislead them by inflaming their passions at the expense of their understandings.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"EDWARD BLOUNT.

"Bryanston-square, London, May 14, 1835."

No. 2.

Extract from Mr. (Lord) Brougham's Speech, on Mr. Grattan's Motion for a Committee on the Roman Catholic Claims, April 24, 1812. (Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates.)

"LET me beseech the House to recollect the grounds on which they have anew preached up the doctrine of danger to the Church Establishment. Into what do they resolve themselves, and by what authorities are they maintained? The learned judge predicts the overthrow of the Establishment from the ascendancy, as he calls it, of the Catholics, and reads as proof of this, an extract from some anonymous pamphlet, which he holds to be of Catholic authority, and which he selects in preference to the undisputed documents of that body, because he there finds it written that if the Catholics are admitted to a participation in the benefits of the constitution, they will forthwith seek to overturn the Protestant Church. This is the sole ground of the learned judge's fears; and from this unauthenticated assertion—from this bare statement, for aught we can tell, of an enemy to the Romanists, assuming the guise of one, with the intention probably of being cited against them, an intention which the learned judge has taken care should not be frustrated. From this foolish or insidious production, at the least this fugitive tract of an anonymous writer, I appeal to the records of Parliament for an ample and triumphal defence of the Catholics—*look at the solemn oaths prescribed by the statute*—look at those declarations of allegiance to the Constitution in Church and State which the laws enjoin. Remember that *the Catholics have never yet refused to bind themselves by those oaths and declarations*; and reflect, too, that the whole question now before us is one of oaths and declarations; so that you who doubt the Catholics and suspect

them of an intention hostile to the Church Establishment, and who upon those doubts and suspicions would found an argument for the necessity of the existing penal laws,—that is to say, of tests, of disqualifying oaths and declarations,—cannot for one instant object to the evidence of their loyalty to that Establishment, which I am now tendering, because that evidence is your own favourite one of tests by oaths and declarations. Then *what are the oaths now universally taken by the Irish Catholics?* *They are the strongest that language can convey.* I defy the wit of man to devise more ample pledges of attachment to the Establishment as a political institution. They are couched in the very words which the most zealous Protestant would be forward to use for the purpose of displaying, nay, making a display of his loyalty to the Church. In truth they are the oaths invented by yourselves, as sufficient to satisfy your anxiety for the Church, to disarm your fears for her security,—*they are the oaths by which you intended to obtain all the safeguards that swearing and declaring can give.*

“Surrounded as I am by lawyers and by Irishmen (Sir S. Romilly, Sir A. Piggott, the knight of Kerry, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Parnell, &c.), I ask the former what tests more ample, more strict, were ever contrived by legislators. I appeal to the latter, which of them has ever been refused by any zealot among the millions of their Catholic countrymen? *I will read this document then from the statute book, at once to sweep away from the face of this debate all the imputations* which the learned judge has collected from his twopenny anonymous pamphlet, in order to call the conduct of the Irish into question, and to encumber this great question:—

“‘I, A. B., do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or anyways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under pretence or colour that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.

“‘And do declare, that I do not believe, that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

“‘I do swear, that *I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being: I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment,* for the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead. And *I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege to which*

I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God.'

"*This I think, Sir, is enough ; but it is not all.* I next answer the learned judge's pamphleteer, by referring to *those Petitions on the table*, signed by thousands of the most eminent of the Catholic body, *asserting, in terms strong and affecting*, their attachment to the constitution, and *disclaiming, in language equally unqualified, all designs inconsistent with the perfect safety of the Protestant Church.* To the State they pay their taxes, though to them its offices, its distinctions, its benefits, its protection in a great measure are denied. To that Church they pay, without a murmur, the tithe of all they have, though to them it can by no possibility afford any spiritual succours : and because, in addition to the payment of tribute and tithe, *they bind themselves by oaths and solemn declarations*, to support both Church and State, and *abjure, in the sight of God and man, every feeling inconsistent with the safety and interests of both ; and because every time that they petition Parliament for relief from the disabilities under which their conscientious adherence to speculative opinions lays them, they carefully repeat those disclaimers which they are always ready to verify upon oath ;* you, therefore, tell them, having, it would seem, no better reason to give for refusing their prayers, that you are afraid to grant them. To grant them ? No ; but that you dare not even listen to them, lest they should seek to overthrow the Church which they support by their tribute, *and which they have sworn never to injure.* But their oaths and professions are not to be trusted, for they may be made in order to be broken : true, and so might I argue, who am an enemy to all such tests ; but let me tell the gentlemen opposite, this is precisely that thing which they must not say ; for *all the securities which they ever have thought of are oaths and professions*, and the only dispute at present between us is, whether we shall trust the safety of the state to such tests, or seek to establish it in the hearts and affections of a faithful, and generous, and grateful people.

"Satisfied then, that the Catholics entertain a deep-rooted hostility to the Establishment, *notwithstanding their own repeated and solemn declarations ;* nay, convinced, as he says, that in order to act conscientiously they must seek, by all means, its destruction—for the learned judge can form no better opinion, it should seem, of conscientious conduct, at least in a Roman Catholic, than first swearing not to do a thing, and then doing it ; he proceeds to a topic so frequently urged, and so constantly refuted, that I should have no apology for even adverting to it, did I not remark that, with some persons, it always pleases how often soever repeated—I mean the power of effecting mischief, with which you arm the Catholics *by giving them seats in the legislature.* It seems that a few peers of that persuasion being introduced into the other House,

and a few commoners into this, all our securities, not only of oaths and tests, but of numbers—of the large body of Protestants, among whom that handful will be lost—all the safeguards furnished by positive laws, and the still stronger checks provided in our own prejudices, or conscientious and well-founded opinions—in the zeal, for instance, of the learned judge and his co-adjutors,—will speedily be at an end, and the parliament, without delay, be converted to the Catholic faith; or, at any rate, to seek the overthrow of the Protestant Church! *I should be ashamed, Sir, to dwell one moment upon such miserable nonsense as their heads must be filled with, who are sincerely influenced by this argument.*”

No. 3.

Extracts from Declarations of Irish Press, as also of eminent individuals, &c., in Ireland, in 1829, expressive of gratitude to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for the measure of Catholic relief, without any objections being raised to the Oath.

“CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

“Dublin Evening Post, Tuesday, March 10, 1829.

“The outline of the Bill, as detailed in the admirable Speech of Mr. Peel, *is now before the public*, and with one important exception, to which we shall refer hereafter (the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders), will be considered by every reasonable man, by every friend of peace, *by every Protestant who seeks security for the institutions to which he may be attached*, and by every Catholic devoted to liberty and equality, in the legitimate and constitutional acceptance of these terms, as complete and unqualified—as a boon befitting a wise and liberal legislature to confer, and a generous and warm-hearted nation to receive *with gratitude*.

“The speech of Mr. Peel, as well from the importance of the subject, as the peculiar position of the Minister, is one of the few orations which must go down to a distant posterity. Taking the measure as one great whole, there is no reasonable man who will not acknowledge that the Bill *surpasses his most sanguine expectations*. We deeply regret that it should be deemed advisable to accompany it with the measure referred to; but let it be recollected that at every former period, however we may have deprecated such stipulations, we had good reason to dread other, and quite as vexatious, conditions, *in addition to that* which has unfortunately been persevered in. What a feeling of *gratitude* should it not excite in the bosom of every Catholic, that the long struggle for his faith, as well as civil immunities, should have terminated triumphantly, without the necessity of his acceding to any arrangement derogatory to the dignity, or dangerous to the purity of his Church. He need not now entertain any fears that the sacred institution, for the preservation of which his

ancestors and himself had made such noble and extensive sacrifices, shall be sullied by State contact, or its Ministers subjected to an inquisition, formed of men politically or theologically opposed to themselves and their religion."

The writer here refers to the restrictions (miscalled securities) contained in the Bills for Catholic Relief proposed by the Whigs.

Extract from Lord Cloncurry's Address to the Catholics of Ireland, and particularly the Forty Shilling Freeholders.

"Dublin, Saturday, March 14, 1829.

"My much loved Countrymen—You will forgive me for addressing a few lines to you on the present position and prospect of your interests, which are now the common interests not only of every Irishman, but of every individual in the United Kingdom.

"I congratulate you most heartily on the *wise, conciliating, and truly patriotic* conduct of the Government. The successful termination of their arduous struggle in your favour, will not only give the reward of a self-approving conscience, but will *hand down their names to posterity as the saviours of Ireland, and the friends of their own country, and of mankind.*

"*No man could have anticipated the bright prospects now opening to Ireland—few men can tell how easily they may be overcast.—I believe that the labours, the difficulties, and the doubts, have been such as no Government had ever before to encounter—how truly would I hate myself if I added to those difficulties.*"

Extract from Sir Thomas Esmonde's Letter, to the "Editor of the Dublin Evening Post."

"Dear Sir—I feel myself called upon, at this interesting crisis, to express my sincere gratitude to his Majesty, and his Cabinet, for the *full and satisfactory settlement* of the Catholic Question, which they have undertaken to effect."

Extract from a Letter addressed to F. W. Conway, Esq., as Secretary to a Meeting respecting the 40s. Freeholders, by Viscount Gormanstown.

"The moment of our Emancipation is now at hand—thanks to the recommendation of our most gracious King, and *thanks the most sincere to his Ministers, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, by whose united unremitting exertions this measure has been brought forward and sup-*

ported. I trust we may all weigh the great difficulties they have had to encounter, and those they may still have to surmount, before its final accomplishment, and the danger of any act of ours to impede or throw difficulties in their way, I implore those who consider the raising of the Franchise to Ten Pounds, to be a dear price, to reflect that in refusing it even at such a price, if by any act of theirs they dash the cup (now presented) from their lips, whether they may ever be able to raise it so near again, and so pure and uncontaminated. *The Bill now before Parliament for our relief is a Bill of a more liberal stamp than perhaps any Catholic would have anticipated*, unclogged by Veto, or any other objectionable clauses interfering with the discipline of our Church. I trust, therefore, that this will be kept in view, and that whatever decision may be come to, it shall not have the effect of paralyzing the efforts of our friends to bring this great question to a speedy and a final termination, so long desirable for the peace and prosperity of the country.

“Believe me to remain, my dear Sir,

“Yours very faithfully,

“GORMANSTOWN.

“Gormanstown Castle, March 15.

“To F. W. Conway, Esq.”

Extract from the Resolution adopted at that Meeting.

“That considering the *incalculable benefits* about to be conferred upon Ireland by the Religious Relief Bill now in progress through Parliament, and entertaining *sentiments of the deepest gratitude to the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel*, for their Ministerial support of a wise and politic measure.”

Extracted from the Letter of the Dublin “Register” London Correspondent, announcing the passing of the Relief Bill in the House of Commons.

“Dublin Weekly Register, April 5, 1829.

“The congratulations personally addressed to Mr. Peel were such as if he had won an empire. It would be too little to say that our antipathies to that distinguished individual have been long since at an end. *He is not a just Irishman, who will not for ever entertain towards him, respect and gratitude.*”

No. 4.

Copy of Signatures affixed to the Irish Catholic Petition of 1805.

Extracted from Plowden’s History of Ireland.

Shrewsbury	Christopher D. Bellew	Thomas Fitzgerald
Waterford }	Anthony Donellan	David Henchy
Wexford }	John Hartney	James Barron

Fingall	Jeremiah W. Bagot	Edward Ryan
Kenmare	O'Donoghue of the Glins	John Burke
Gormanstown	Hugh O'Connor	Edward Burke
Southwell	P. O'Brien Butler	James Byrne
Trimlestown	John O'Reily	John Brennan
Robert Plunkett	Thomas O'Connor	Jeremiah Ryan
Thomas Barnewall	John Rorke	Pierce Barron
Thomas Ffrench, Bt.	James Nowlan, Jun.	William Barron
Edward Bellew, Bt.	Nich. Fleming	Charles Byrne
Francis Goold, Bt.	Denis T. O'Brien	Dominick Rice
Thomas Ryan	Robert Caddell	Ambrose Moore
Dennis Scully	Thomas Barry	R. P. M'Donnell
James Nangle	M. F. Lynch	<i>Eneas Macdonne</i>
A. Donel, M.D.	Christopher Taylor	John Byrne
Thomas Warren	Charles Roche	Daniel O'Connell
John Duffy	John Taafe	John Lalor
Richard Sause	Richard Strange	Thomas Dillon
Bartholomew Taylor	George Goold	Philip Roche
Joseph Taylor	William Bellew	Elias Corbally
Charles Ryan	Maurice O'Connell	Thomas Fitzgerald
Francis Cruise	Daniel O'Mahony	Dom. W. O'Reilly
Nicholas Gannon	Gerrald Aylmer	Malachy Donelan
Valentine O'Connor	John White	Robert French
Walter Dowdall	Thomas Redington	Daniel Cronin
James Ryan	J. M. Grainger	James Ryan
Edward Moore	R. S. Keating	Thomas Galway
J. Purcell, M.D.	James Scully	John Roche
Thomas Egan, M.D.	Francis Coleman	E. Burke
Ambrose O'Farrell	Lewis Ward	H. Trant
Richard Bolger	James P. Ward	
Rand. M'Donnell	V. O'Connor, Jun.	

No. 5.

Official Instructions to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq., Agent to the
ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, and assurances of approval and
gratitude addressed to him.

Extract from the Original Letter of Appointment and Instructions.

" No. 4, Capel Street, Nov. 3, 1824.

" Sir—I beg leave to inform you that the Catholic Association have
unanimously chosen you as their Agent in London; it is my pleasing
duty to transmit the intelligence, and *to request in the name of the*
Association that you will accept the appointment. It is right to inform
you that *the duties of such agent are very numerous and most im-*

portant ; they will, it is believed, require constant attendance and undivided attention. They relate, principally, to the following objects:—

“ From the commencement to the termination of the sittings of Parliament, it will be your duty to be in constant communication with all the Members of both Houses who may be favourable to our claims. You will have to give them accurate information as to all important facts bearing on our cause, and to furnish explanations upon all points of difficulty that may occur in the progress of the debates ; and, in particular, to discover the most respectful manner of controverting the mistaken notions of Members of Parliament respecting the Catholic religion and Catholic people.

“ Signed by F. W. CONWAY, Esq.

“ Acting Secretary to the Irish Catholic Association.”

Copy of Proceedings as forwarded to Mr. Macdonnell.

“ Mr. Eneas Macdonnell,—Mr. O’Connell presented the following report, and moved, seconded by Mr. Richard O’Gorman, ‘ That the report be received, and be inserted on the minutes.’ Passed unanimously.

“ Committee, November 19, 1824.

“ Resolved unanimously,—That we recommend it as a general rule, that all petitions be transmitted to, and all correspondence, as far as practicable, be carried on with the members of Parliament through the secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

“ 2nd,—That the following letter be written to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq., in case he shall finally *accept* the situation of our agent:—

“ Sir,—Some differences of opinion having occurred with respect to the letter written to you on the 3rd day of November, 1824, it is determined that you should be informed, that it is the unanimous sense of the Association, that you will, as our agent, be bound to keep up a constant communication with the Association, so as to act on all occasions under their immediate sanction ; it appearing to us that the only desirable course is, that there should be no discretionary power vested otherwise than in the Association.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ NICHOLAS PURCELL O’GORMAN,

“ Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

“ 3rd,—That the said letter of the 3rd of November was intended to describe the duties of our agent, and not to confer power ; and that the same is not to be construed into any concession of power, and that this resolution do accompany the foregoing letter.

“ 4th,—That in thus yielding to the sentiments of several respectable members of the Association upon the subject of our former letter, *we yet deem it a duty to state our decided conviction, that the appointment,*

which the Association has UNANIMOUSLY made of Mr. Macdonnell is one most likely to be eminently useful to the Catholic body.

"5th,—That the foregoing resolution be respectfully submitted to the Association as our report.

"4, Capel Street, December 2, 1824.

"Sir,—In reply to yours, under date of November 30th, acceding to the propositions as transmitted from the Committee of the Catholic Association, in my letter, of the 27th of November, to you, I now enclose you the subsequent report of the Committee received and adopted by the Association, and have the honour to remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"NICHOLAS PURCELL O'GORMAN,

"Eneas Macdonnell, Esq."

"Secretary C. I.

(1825.)

At an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, held, pursuant to requisition, this day, 14th April, 1825, The Lord Viscount Gormanstown in the Chair, the following resolutions were *unanimously* agreed to:—

"That the marked and grateful thanks of the Catholics of Ireland were due, and that the thanks of this meeting be given to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq. for his zealous and most efficient discharge, upon all occasions, of his duty, as Agent to the Catholics of Ireland, in London."

(1826-7.)

Extract of a Letter addressed to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq.

"Corn Exchange Hotel, Dublin, 20th January, 1827.

"Dear Sir,—In consequence of Mr. O'Gorman's protracted absence, I think it better to send you the *statement of duties pointed out for your government, &c. &c.*

(Signed)

"EDWARD DWYER."

(*Enclosure.*)

"Duties pointed out to Mr. Macdonnell, as *Agent to the Catholics of Ireland.*

"Firstly,—To watch carefully over the diurnal press of London, and as much as possible over that of the provincial towns, in order *immediately, and from authority*, to contradict the various falsehoods which are circulated throughout England respecting the Catholic clergy and laity in Ireland—to refute the *calumnious imputations* which are so frequently thrown out, even by those who call themselves our political friends, against our religious tenets and principles—to explain what these principles really and truly are—and to show to the people of England that we have ever rejected and do abhor any opinions *inconsistent with pure morality, genuine fidelity*, and sincere attachment to constitutional

liberty. In thus vindicating the character and religious opinions *of the Catholics of Ireland*, you will be bound not only to superintend our interests, with relation to the daily press, but also to bestow much attention on the progress of the unchristian slander which the ‘Quarterly Review,’ and other periodical publications, pour upon us.

“Secondly,—It will be your duty to open a communication with the Catholic Association in England, by becoming a member of that body, and to transmit to them official and regular details of the Catholic proceedings in Ireland. And it is desired that you will, in the first instance, and as speedily as possible, communicate to them our determination to bring on the discussion of our question during the ensuing month of February, and as early in that month as possible.

“Thirdly,—It will be necessary for you to enter into immediate communication with Sir Francis Burdett, and our other friends in Parliament, respecting our views and wishes as to the management of our petitions during the next sessions, and to concert with *him* the best means of having that petition presented on the first day of the next meeting of Parliament.

“Fourthly,—From the commencement to the termination of the sittings of Parliament, it will be your duty to be in constant communication with all the members of both Houses who may be favourable to our claims. You will have to give them accurate information as to all important facts bearing on our case, and to furnish explanations upon all points of difficulty that may occur in the progress of the debates; and in particular to discover the most respectful manner of *controverting the mistaken notions of the members of Parliament respecting the Catholic religion and Catholic people*.

“Fifthly,—It will be a relief to your mind to learn, that although THE CATHOLIC BODY ARE UNANIMOUS IN THEIR APPROBATION OF YOUR CONDUCT HITHERTO, yet, that under the existing law which prevents the continuance of any controlling society or association in Ireland, it is not in the power of any individual, nor can it, therefore, be within the scope of your authority, to commit, or to pledge, or to bind the Catholics of Ireland, or any portion of them, by any contract or stipulation, or in any negotiation whatsoever.

“Sixthly,—That all communications on Catholic affairs should be made through the Secretary for the Catholics of Ireland, Nicholas Purcell O’Gorman, Esq.

“Dublin, 30th December, 1826.

“LORD KILLEEN, Chairman.”

(1829.)

Letters from Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, to Eneas Macdonnell, Esq., expressive of their sentiments upon his discharge of the duties of Agent to the Catholics of Ireland.

From the Most Rev. Dr. Murray (Dublin).

“Dublin, 18th April, 1829.

“My dear Sir,—It was only last night that I had the pleasure of receiving your obliging letter of the 13th instant, announcing the happy termination of the great affair which has engaged our attention so intensely and so long.

“I hasten to express my acknowledgments for the great kindness with which you favoured me with your two excellent Pamphlets, with copies of the Relief Bill in its original and amended form, and the reports of the Parliamentary debates to which it gave rise, including the Mirror of Parliament for the 5th and 6th of March. It was to me a subject of much consolation to have early and authentic reports of what was going forward, at a moment of such paramount importance.

“With respect to your conduct, as Agent for the Catholics of Ireland, I can safely say, that, as far as it fell under my observation, it appeared to me to have been marked throughout with great talent, great zeal, and great fidelity.

“The prospect of happier days which now opens upon Ireland, must afford much consolation to all who have contributed to prepare the way for a result so truly auspicious. Accept my congratulations on this exhilarating subject, together with the assurance of my sincere regard.

“I remain, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

“✠ D. MURRAY.”

From the Most Rev. Dr. Laffan (Cashel).

“Thurles, 20th April, 1829.

“My dear Sir,—I have received the Papers you mention to have forwarded, viz., reports of debates, Parliamentary Bills, Mirror of Parliament, and copies of two Pamphlets.

“I acknowledge myself much indebted for your kindness in transmitting these documents, as also for various other instances of friendly attention; and it gives me great pleasure to find, that your conduct, as Agent to the Catholics of Ireland, has given very general satisfaction, and justly entitles you to hold that high rank you do in the estimation of your countrymen.

“I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

“Your obedient humble servant,

“✠ ROBERT LAFFAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Burke (Elphin).

“Sligo, 20th April, 1829.

“Dear Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving the several Papers you had the goodness to send me, viz., reports of debates, Parliamentary Bills, Mirror of Parliament, and copies of two small Pamphlets, distributed among the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

“Accept my warmest thanks for the trouble you have taken in transmitting them to me. Allow me to assure you, that your conduct in the concluding scene of the Catholic Question has met with the approbation of every individual with whom I have conversed on the subject, and has been, in my opinion, in perfect unison with your uniform, active, zealous, and useful exertions during the five years you have acted as the accredited Agent of the Catholics of Ireland.—You deserve to be addressed by ‘*Euge serve bone.*’ I indulge a hope that Ireland will give you substantial proof of her gratitude.

“I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

“Most faithfully and sincerely yours,

“✠ PATRICK BURKE.”

From the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly (Dromore).

“Newry, 20th April, 1829.

“My dear Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th, and beg in reply to say, that I received the several papers you kindly promised to send me, with the exception of the second Mirror of Parliament, which has not reached me.

“I have further great pleasure in offering it as my opinion, tha’ in the discharge of your duties, as Agent of the Catholics of Ireland, your conduct has been marked by a strict fidelity to the instructions received, and an efficient zeal in the cause of your country.

“I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

“Your faithful and obedient servant,

“✠ J. KELLY.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. McLaughlin (Derry).

“Derry, 20th April, 1829.

“My dear Sir,—Your kind communication of the 13th instant, came to hand only last night. I regularly received the different papers you mentioned, for which I return you my most grateful thanks. Since your name was first enrolled in the Association list, I considered you one of its most efficient and working Members; and now that matters have been brought to so happy a conclusion, I am satisfied that the future historian will transmit your name to the latest posterity, embalmed in the memory of your grateful Countrymen.

“I have the honour to remain, your most faithful servant,

“✠ P. McLAUGHLIN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan (Limerick).

“ Limerick, April 20, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—I have received the Papers and other communications to which you allude, and for which I feel extremely thankful. I think it incumbent on me, now that the struggle in which we have been so long engaged is brought to a happy termination, to declare that your zeal and efficiency in the discharge of the arduous duties allotted to you by the Catholics of this country, are above all praise, and that I hope a grateful country will not leave unrequited such laudable exertions.

“ I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and faithful servant,

“ ✠ J. RYAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger (Cloyne).

“ Cove, April 21, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—In answer to your inquiry of the 13th inst., I hasten to acknowledge, and thankfully, the punctual receipt of the several papers you were so kind as to forward me.

“ Concerning your conduct during the progress of the late important question, and as a zealous agent in London of the Irish Roman Catholics, during the last five years, I am confident that when I say you gave very general satisfaction in both capacities, I speak in perfect unison with what I believe to be the general sentiment of your countrymen.

“ With most respectful esteem,

“ I am, very sincerely, your faithful humble servant,

“ ✠ W. COPPINGER.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy (Cork).

“ Cork, April 21, 1829.

“ Dear Sir,—Until your kind favour of the 14th instant reached me, I was not aware to whom I was indebted for reports of debates, Parliamentary Bills, and a number of the Mirror of Parliament. The two little pamphlets alluded to, I have no consciousness of having received.

“ Your courtesy to me in this concluding scene claims my sincere thanks. I am not a politician—I have never mixed myself up with any party in the Catholic Body—I have never hazarded a public opinion upon the leading members; but, without a reference to others, or to every individual act which you have had to perform, as Agent to the Catholics of Ireland, I can fairly state that your conduct, as such, has been influenced by conscience, and your duties discharged with zeal and integrity.

“ I remain, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

“ ✠ JOHN MURPHY.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Egan (Ardfert).

“ Killarney, April 21, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—Your circular of the 13th, which you did me the honour to direct to me, I received this morning. Accept my grateful acknowledgments for the several papers and various documents which you kindly transmitted; all of which arrived safe, and in due course.

“ It is generally allowed, that to talent, industry, and zeal, you have combined activity, vigilance, and integrity. In the times that passed by, inestimable must be the benefit to Ireland from such a combination, when tempered with your prudence and discretion. I trust you will live long to enjoy the great satisfaction of thinking that you have conferred great benefits on your country, and of feeling that that country is not insensible to your deserts.

“ I remain, my dear Sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

“ ✠ COR. EGAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Collins (Cloyne).

“ Skibbereen, April 21, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—I had the honour, yesterday, of receiving your letter of the 13th instant, and I beg you to accept my very thankful acknowledgment of the receipt of the interesting documents which you had the kindness, from time to time, to send me, pending the progress of the Catholic Relief Bill through Parliament. I request, particularly, your acceptance of my thanks for your own two pamphlets, the seasonable circulation of which, at the juncture when it was of such vital importance to our cause that error should be dispelled, and ignorance and prejudice enlightened and conciliated, must have had a powerful effect in correcting the errors and mitigating the hostility of many, on whose opinions the fate of the question hung.

“ I, therefore, feel myself bound, in justice to your meritorious labours, under many trying difficulties, in promoting the attainment of that great object, for which the Catholics of Ireland so long struggled, and which they have, at last, in common with the Catholics of the empire, happily attained, to express my deep and grateful sense of the zeal, ability, prudence, and courage with which, in discharge of the important trust confided to you by the Catholics of Ireland, you have watched over their interests, and availed yourself of every opportunity to promote the final success of their cause.

“ I cannot avoid saying that I shall feel much surprised and disappointed, if, in enumerating the friends and fellow-labourers, whose talents, zeal, and constancy have been most usefully employed in the liberation of Ireland, and of the empire, from the yoke of Civil Servitude, on account of Religion, and who are, therefore, entitled to an expression

of national acknowledgment, the Catholics of Ireland do not enrol your name among the foremost.

“ I remain, my dear Sir, with sincere esteem and regard,

“ Your very faithful servant,

“ † M. COLLINS.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Kernan (Clogher).

“ Carrickmacross, April 21, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—I had the honour of receiving your kind letter of the 13th instant, and also the different papers you were so good as to send me from time to time, viz., reports of debates, Parliamentary Bills, Mirror of Parliament, and two small pamphlets, distributed to the Members of both Houses of Parliament; for which favours I shall ever retain a grateful recollection.

“ And, now, my dear friend, that our labours are terminated, allow me to congratulate you, in particular, for having faithfully discharged your duty to your country. You may, with truth, say, with the Apostle of Nations, ‘ *certamen certavi, fidem servavi, et in reliquo reposita est mihi*,’ &c. &c.

“ I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

“ With the greatest esteem and respect,

“ Your ever obliged and faithful servant,

“ † E. KERNAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Coen (Coadjutor in Clonfert).

“ Loughrea, April 22, 1829.

“ My dear Friend,—Your kind favour of the 13th instant came to hand this day; this evening’s post shall bring back my answer. From your inquiries whether I received the several papers which you so obligingly sent me, I perceive that you did not receive a letter which I sent you about eight or ten days ago. As to your conduct, in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed on you as Agent to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, I believe there is not a second opinion on the subject throughout the kingdom among Catholics or liberal Protestants, that no man could acquit himself with more *talent, prudence, and firmness*. This, I assure you, is my candid, my unalterable opinion.

“ I have the honour to remain, my ever dear Friend,

“ Your much obliged and grateful servant,

“ † THOMAS COEN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Keating (Ferns).

“ Enniscorthy, April 24, 1829.

“ Dear Sir,—The newspapers and other documents which you were pleased to send me arrived safe, and were very acceptable, as they con-

tained the earliest intelligence on the progress and final settlement of the Catholic Question. That settlement, I presume, will relieve you from the arduous duties which you had to perform in the situation of Agent to the Catholics of Ireland—a situation which, in my opinion, you have uniformly filled with zeal, ability, and effect.

“Accept my best thanks, and believe me to be, my dear Sir,

“Your obliged and faithful servant,

“✠ JAMES KEATING.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. O'Shaughnessy (Killaloe).

“Newmarket-on-Fergus, April 24, 1829.

“Dear Sir,—I have been favoured with yours of the 13th only this day. I am now almost totally confined, and feeble in mind and body—the effect of old age and its consequent infirmities.

“I have received the two small pamphlets, and recollect no others. As to my individual part, I approve highly of your conduct and fidelity while in the station of Agent to the Catholics of Ireland; nor have I heard or known any thing that was not creditable to you as such.

“I have the honour to be, faithfully yours,

“✠ J. O'SHAUGHNESSY.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. M'Gettigan (Raphoe).

“Letterkenny, April 26, 1829.

“My dear Sir,—Your very kind and obliging letter of the 13th instant only reached this place last evening. I had the pleasure of receiving all the Newspapers, Parliamentary Debates, Pamphlets, &c., which you were kind enough to send me.

“I avail myself of this opportunity of congratulating you on the happy termination of your arduous labours; and allow me also to return you my most sincere thanks for your strenuous exertions and valuable services in the discharge of your duties as Agent for the Catholics of Ireland, who, I hope, will not be so destitute of gratitude as not to remember them in a proper manner.

“I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“✠ PATRICK M'GETTIGAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. M'Nicholas (Achonry).

“Ballahderrin, 27th April, 1829.

“My dear Friend,—I received, in due course, the Parliamentary Reports and other publications which you had the kindness to forward to me during the late discussion of our question, and for your very obliging

attention on this, as well as many other occasions, I take leave to offer you my warmest acknowledgments.

“ Allow me to congratulate you, in a particular manner, on the successful and glorious termination of the labours in which you have been unremittingly engaged during the best period of your life. The ardent zeal and incorruptible fidelity which you evinced as agent to the Catholics of Ireland—the great personal and pecuniary sacrifices which you made in opposing the common enemy—the various and important services you have rendered by your talents and your writings, have long since established a firm claim on the gratitude of your country, and entitle you to a distinguished place among the most devoted friends of Civil and Religious Freedom.

“ As the country has now a debt to discharge to those patriots who have been prominently conspicuous in raising her from slavery to freedom, I confidently anticipate that your name will appear on the list of the few chosen sons who were mainly instrumental in achieving this splendid triumph.

“ Though the clergy, as a body, have gained nothing, but have been rather visited with new penalties, they, however, feel grateful for the benefits conferred on the laity, and will not fail to evince their gratitude in a suitable manner.

“ I remain, my dear Friend, with the most sincere esteem,

“ Very faithfully yours,

“ ✠ P. M'NICHOLAS.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Logan (Meath).

“ Dublin, April 29, 1829.

“ Dear Sir,—Being from home for some days past, I was not honoured with your communication of the 13th instant before this day. I received the several papers, &c., you transmitted to me during the interesting period of the Parliamentary discussions on the Catholic Question. Accept my best thanks for them, and be assured of the deep sense of gratitude I entertain for your many kind favours.

“ I can have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that you discharged the arduous duties of your office ably, zealously, and effectively.

“ I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

“ With great respect and esteem,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ ✠ ROBERT LOGAN.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Ffrench (Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh).

“ Galway, May 2, 1829.

“ My dear Friend,—I have been regularly favoured, from time to time, with all the Papers, Reports of Debates, Parliamentary Bills, and the two pamphlets, &c. &c.

“ Allow me first to apologize for not answering you sooner on this subject, and next to thank you for the documents which you were so kind as to send me. I have been from home on my visitation during the last fortnight, and have only to say, in justice to your zealous exertions, arduous struggles, and sufferings for the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty—that you have not only met with my warmest approbation, but also with that of the Catholic Hierarchy and People of Ireland.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir, that I am not induced to give this opinion as a mere matter of compliment, but I feel called on unequivocally to bear testimony to the valuable services rendered by you to our common country. “ I have the honour to remain, your very faithful friend,

“ ✠ EDMD. FFRENCH.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Kelly (Waterford).

“ Waterford, May 2, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—Your kind favour of April 13th reached me on Easter Monday, when I was just setting off from home; since that time I have been but little here, and this must plead my apology for not writing to you sooner.

“ I received, I believe in due course, all the papers and tracts you were kind enough to address to me, and which you mention in your letter; and, indeed, for them I conceive myself much obliged to you.

“ I cannot help saying, that your official conduct in the concluding scene of our drama, as well as throughout the piece, for the last five years, has my warmest approbation, and is, I think, entitled to the admiration of every well-meaning Catholic.

“ I have the honour to be, very sincerely,

“ Your obedient, humble servant,

“ ✠ PATRICK KELLY.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Macmahon Killaloe).

“ Wellpark, May 4, 1829.

“ Dear Sir,—Your circular of the 13th ultimo did not reach my house until the 23d, when I was absent; otherwise I should have been earlier in acknowledging the receipt of it. I did receive the papers and pamphlets you mention. In my humble opinion you have acted your part most ably, with great honour to yourself, and benefit to the cause you had in hand.

“ I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

“ Your humble and obedient servant,

“ ✠ P. MACMAHON.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. M'Hale (Coadjutor in Killalla).

“ Ardnaree, May 5, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—Through some unaccountable delay your last favour has not reached me until within the course of this week. I have received regularly the different papers to which you have alluded, and have to express to you my sincere and warm acknowledgments for your kindness in forwarding the earliest intelligence regarding the Catholic Question during every stage of the debate.

“ It is scarcely necessary for me to add my humble attestation to the universal approval which the whole country has so often expressed of your zeal and fidelity. The patient industry with which you collected every document that was fraught with calumnies on our country and religion, has fully evinced your disposition to labour for the public good; and the powerful exposure of such libels through the means of facts and documents, that were beyond the reach of contradiction, affords full evidence of the success with which that disposition was crowned.

“ He who has to represent a body composed of a number of individuals whose views are sometimes conflicting, must often find it difficult to meet the wishes while he labours to promote the interests of all. About such an individual there must be a firmness of resolution that will not easily give way to every sudden change of sentiment that may be hastily adopted, and as hastily laid aside. Besides his other qualities of unceasing vigilance and perseverance, there was one that peculiarly fitted the Agent of the Catholics of Ireland for his office,—the inflexible integrity with which he maintained those sound opinions which have ever distinguished the Catholics of Ireland.

“ Fortunately for the minister's fame, as well as the happiness of the empire, no unhallowed contact between our hierarchy and the crown has been essayed as a barter for our emancipation; yet our Agent is not, on that account, the less entitled to our gratitude for exhibiting the repeated resolutions of the bishops on that subject, and from which there was no danger of their receding.

“ In common with the rest of our countrymen, accept my feeble thanks for your zeal, your fidelity, and your uncompromising firmness in the discharge of your duties as Agent to the Catholics of Ireland; and, wishing you long life to enjoy the blessings of freedom,

“ I remain, very faithfully yours,

“ ✠ JOHN MACHALE.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Crolly (Down and Connor).

“ Belfast, May 12, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind and much esteemed letters, together with several interesting parlia-

mentary papers, which you had the goodness to transmit to me during the late important discussion of our question.

“ My absence from Belfast, and the indispensable duties of visiting my diocese, will, I trust, be taken as an apology for the delay of my answer.

“ I feel no hesitation in stating that I had always full confidence in your abilities and integrity, and that your diligence and fidelity in discharging the arduous duties of your situation, as Agent of the Catholics of Ireland, have afforded me unfeigned satisfaction.

“ I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

“ Your obedient and faithful servant,

“ ✠ WILLIAM CROLY.”

From the Right Rev. Dr. Magauran (Ardagh).

“ Ballymahon, May 22, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,—I was obligingly favoured, during the discussion on the Catholic question, with newspapers and other documents appertaining to that important subject; many of those I believe to have been kindly forwarded by you, for which I now thank you.

“ I have much gratification in saying that in my very humble opinion your exertions in various ways powerfully contributed to have brought our long agitated question to its late happy termination; your zeal and perseverance were unremitting; I am sure your judgment and vigilance were equally conspicuous.

“ You have the hearty and sincere thanks of your obedient humble servant,

“ ✠ JAMES MAGAURAN.”

From the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly (Tuam).

“ Rome, July 9, 1829.

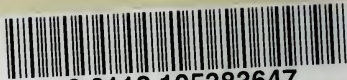
“ My dear Friend,—Few know better than I do, and no one appreciates more highly, the great value and importance of your indefatigable exertions in obtaining for the Catholics a relaxation from those civil disabilities under which they laboured. Whilst others, by their language and their measures, were attracting public notice, and fixing public attention upon their proceedings, you, in my judgment, were more usefully, though not so conspicuously engaged, in removing from the minds of influential persons those prejudices which were the principal bar to our emancipation, and proving by solid argument, and illustrating by incontrovertible facts, that there was nothing in the Catholic religion incompatible with civil allegiance, or with the stability of the State. You pursued the prudent course of representing to those in

power the dangers that did really exist, and urged the expediency as well as the necessity of averting the impending evils, by the speedy application of the only effectual remedy, namely, the removal of those odious distinctions which divided the empire into two contending parties, arrayed in dreadful hostility, the one against the other.

“ If the course pursued by you was not the most popular, it was, however, the most beneficial to the community, the most advantageous to the State, and the most honourable to yourself.

“ I remain, my dear Friend, most faithfully yours,

“ ✠ OLIVER KELLY.”



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